CHAP. XII.

Of the ſuſpected Witchcrafts of New-England. *The Circumſtances of the* Afflicted *Tryals of ſeveral of the* Accuſed (viz.) *of the Reverend Mr.* George Burroughs, *Clerk,* Bridget Biſhop, *and* Suſanna Martin, *the Number of the Condemned, and of thoſe that were Executed, with their Dying Behaviour. Several of the* Accuſed *make their Eſcape. Indirect Methods uſed to promote Accuſations. The Recantation of ſome of the Confeſſing Witches; and of the Jurors.*

NEW-ENGLAND was never in ſuch Diſtreſs ſince the firſt Settlement of the *Engliſh* in it, as when Sir *William Phips* entred on his Government; for the *French* and *Indians* were ravaging the Frontiers, while the Inhabitants were hanging one another for ſuſpected Witchcrafts and Sorceries. Strange were the Miſtakes that ſome

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See an Account of the Puritans Attempt to cast out Devils by their Minister in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, in Heylyn's History of the Presbyterians p. 345. in Order to raise the Reputation of their Sect against the establish'd Church.

Anno 1692 some of the wiſeſt and beſt Men in the Country committed on this Occaſion, which muſt have been fatal to the whole Province, if God by his Providence had not mercifully interpoſed; but this Affair having been variouſly reported to the World, as well as debated with ſome Warmth among themſelves: I ſhall content myſelf only with relating the ſeveral Facts, as I find them atteſted by good Witneſſes, without entring very far into the Merits of the Cauſe.

THE Diſtemper began the latter End of the Year 1691, in the Family of the Reverend Mr. *Paris*, Miniſter of *Salem*, whoſe Daughter and Neice of about nine and eleven Years of Age began on a ſudden to play ſome odd Pranks, which neither themſelves nor others could account for, ſuch as getting into Holes, creeping under Chairs and Stools, *&c.* After ſome Time they fell into Convulſion-Fits, and complained of being bitten and pinched by inviſible Agents; ſometimes they were ſtruck dumb, their Mouths and all their Limbs being diſtorted, in a Manner that moved Compaſſion in all that ſaw them; a Conſultation of Phyſicians being called in to give their Judgments upon this extraordinary Caſe, ſome were of Opinion, that they were under an *evil Tongue*, which preſently ſpread all over the Town. Mr. *Paris* himſelf being of this Mind, kept ſeveral Days of Faſting and Prayer on his Family's Account; and 'twas obſerved, that during the Time of Prayer the *Afflicted* were very quiet, but in the Intervals of Duty they would fall into Fits, and act and ſpeak very ridiculouſly: Mr. *Paris* had ſome Suſpicion of an *Indian* Man and his Wife that lived in his Houſe, who, after ſome Severities had been uſed upon them, confeſſed thus much, *That being concerned at the Childrens Diſorder, and deſirous to know the Cauſes of it, they had, according to an Old Cuſtom,*

taken

taken ſome of the afflicted Perſon's Urine, and mixing it with Rye-Meal, had made a Cake, and baked it, to find out the Witch: Immediately after this, the Children cryed out of the *Indian* Woman's pinching, pricking, and tormenting them in an inviſible Manner; they pretended to ſee her when no-body elſe could, nay, to tell what ſhe was doing when out of Sight: The Children complained likewiſe of two other Women in the Town, *Sarah Good* a melancholy Perſon, and one *Osburn* who was bed-rid; theſe, with *Tituba* the *Indian* Woman, were examined by the Magiſtrate, and committed; *Tituba* being frightned out of her Wits confeſſed every thing her Maſter would have her, as, that ſhe was a Witch, and that in Conjunction with two or three others, whom the *Afflicted* had accuſed, ſhe had tormented the Complainers. *Tituba* lay in Priſon 'till the Storm was over, and was then ſold for the Payment of her Fees; but upon her Enlargement ſhe declared, *That her Maſter had beat her, and other Ways abuſed her, to make her confeſs and accuſe (ſuch as he called) her Siſter Witches, and that whatſoever ſhe had ſaid by Way of confeſſing, or accuſing others was the effect of ſuch Uſage.* But *Tituba* had no ſooner confeſſed herſelf a Witch, but ſhe was afflicted herſelf, and complained of her Fellow-Witches tormenting her for her Confeſſion; ſeveral others likewiſe in the Town were taken with Fits at the ſame Time, and complained of *Tituba*, and her Confederates tormenting them. From theſe ſmall Beginnings the Diſtemper ſpread like a peſtilential Sickneſs thro' ſeveral Parts of the Province, 'till the Priſons were hardly capable to contain the Number of the *Accuſed*. Anno 1692

Anno 1692 'TIS a ſurprizing Account, that Dr. *Mather* gives of the Circumſtances of theſe afflicted Perſons; he ſays, * "That their Limbs were horribly diſtorted and convulſed, that they were pinched black and blue, that Pins were inviſibly run into their Fleſh, and that they were ſcalded 'till they had Bliſters raiſed in them. One of them (ſays he) was aſſaulted by a Spectre with a Spindle in its Hand, which no-body elſe in the Room could ſee, 'till the *Afflicted* in one of her Agonies ſnatched it out of the Spectre's Hand, and then all the Company ſaw it. Another was haunted by a Spectre in an inviſible Sheet; but the *Afflicted* in one of her Fits, tearing a Piece of it away, it became viſible; ſometimes Poiſon has been forced on the *Afflicted* by an inviſible Hand, which when they have drank they have preſently ſwollen, and afterwards been relieved by the Medicines uſually given in ſuch Caſes; ſometimes they have complained of burning Rags forced into their Mouths, which nobody elſe could ſee, yet the Burns have remained on their Mouths afterwards; ſometimes they have complained of Irons heating in the Fire to brand them, the Marks of which they have carried to their Graves; the Spectres (ſays he) uſually perſonated ſome Perſons whom the *Afflicted* knew, and (which is very ſtrange, if true) when they wounded the Spectre, the Perſon whom the Spectre repreſented was wounded too: For Example, one of the afflicted ſaid, that the Spectre that tormented her was *D*—— *H*—— and pointing to a certain Place in the Room, ſhe cried out, there is *D*—— *H*——, upon

* Mather, *Book II.* page 60.

"which

" which a Man with his Rapier ſtruck at the Place, and the *Afflicted* told him, that he had given her a ſmall Prick about the Eye; ſoon after which *D*—— *H*—— being apprehended, confeſſed herſelf a Witch, and that in troubling the Girl that had impeached her ſhe had received two Wounds, one about the Eye, which ſhe ſhewed the Magiſtrates, and another in the Side. If the *Accuſed* caſt their Eye on the *Afflicted*, the *Afflicted*, tho' their Faces were turned another Way would fall into a Swoon, and continue in it 'till the Hands of the *Accuſed* came to touch them; and it was often found, that the Fleſh of the *Afflicted* was bitten, ſo that the Print of Teeth was very viſible, and there would appear juſt ſuch a Set of Teeth as was in the *Accuſed*, even ſuch as might be clearly diſtinguiſh'd from other People's: In a Word, the afflicted (as the *Doctor* obſerves) in a few Days Time arrived to ſuch a refining Alteration upon their Eyes, that they could ſee their Tormentors; they ſaw a Devil of a little Stature, and of a tawny Colour, attended with Spectres that appeared in more humane Circumſtances; theſe Tormentors uſed to tender the afflicted a Book, requiring them to ſign, or touch it at leaſt, in Token of their conſenting to be liſted in the Devil's Service, which, if they refuſed, the Spectres under the Command of the *Black Man*, tortured them with prodigious Moleſtations." Anno 1692

BUT Mr. *Caleſ* of *Boſton* in his Book, entitled, * *More Wonders of the inviſible World*, has endeavour'd to invalidate the *Doctor*'s Account of Things; he declares, that the Story of the *Sheet*

* *Part* v. *p.* 108.

Anno 1692 was a known Forgery, it having been provided by the *Afflicted Perſon* the Day before; and he does not doubt, but the *Spindle* was ſo too. He adds, that the Print of the *Set of Teeth* was nothing but the *Afflicted*'s biting themſelves; and that ſometimes inſtead of finding a *Set of Teeth*, the *Accuſed* have not had a Tooth in their Heads; * And to ſhew yet farther the Wickedneſs of theſe *afflicted Perſons*, he mentions an Accident at the Trial of *Sarah Good*, which, if true, ought alone to have invalidated their Evidence for the future; the Story is this, While *Sarah Good* was upon her Trial, one of the afflicted fell into a Fit, and cried out, that the Priſoner's Spectre was ſtabing her with a Knife, but had broke it in her Body; and to confirm the Truth of her Relation, ſhe pluck'd a Piece of the Blade out of her Breaſt, and ſhewed it in Court; but there was a young Man preſent, who ſeeing the Blade, had the Honeſty and Courage to claim it for his, and to declare before the Judges, that he broke his Knife but the Day before, and threw away that Part of the Blade in the Preſence of the *Afflicted Perſon*, but that he had the Handle with the other Part of the Blade in his Pocket, which he deliver'd into Court, and upon comparing them together they were found to be Parts of the ſame Knife; upon which the Judge only reprimanded her, and bid her tell no more Lies. †

'TIS certain, that theſe ſuſpected *Wizzards* and *Witches* were convicted on very ſlender Evidence; for the Court allow'd the Witneſſes to tell Stories of 20 or 30 Years ſtanding, about over-ſetting of Carts, the Death of Cattle, Unkindneſs to Relations, or unexpected Accidents

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* *Mr.* Calef, *Part* V. *p.* 154. † *Ibid.* p. 101, 102.

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befalling after ſome Quarrel, all that was alleged againſt them to the *Purpoſe* being either from the diſtemper'd Perſons themſelves, or from thoſe, who had been frighted into a Confeſſion of their being Witches, by the Threatnings of the Magiſtrates, or encourag'd to it with Hopes of Mercy. *Anno* 1692

BUT that the Reader may judge for himſelf, I'll ſet before him two or three of the Trials of theſe unhappy Perſons, out of Dr. *Cotton Mather's Wonders of the inviſible World*, publiſhed by Command of his Excellency Sir *William Phips*, with the Recommendation and Thanks of Lieut. Gov. *Stoughton*, and the Approbation of the Judges and Miniſters, with ſome few Abbreviations.

Eſſex ſſ. *The Indictment of* George Burroughs, *Clerk.*

Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Wilhelmi & Mariæ, *nunc* Angliæ, *&c. quarto.*

The Jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, preſent,

THAT George Burroughs, *late of* Falmouth, *in the Province of the* Maſſachuſet-Bay *in* New-England, *Clerk, the 9th Day of* May, *in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady* William *and* Mary, *by the Grace of GOD, of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith,* &c. *and divers other Days and Times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable Arts called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, wickedly and feloniouſly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed at, and within the Townſhip of* Salem, *in the County of* Eſſex *aforeſaid, in, upon, and againſt one* Mary Wolcott, *of* Salem *Village in the County of* Eſſex, *ſingle Woman, by which ſaid wicked Arts*

Anno 1692 *the ſaid* Mary Wolcott, *the ninth of* May *in the fourth Year aboveſaid, and divers other Days and Times, as well before as after, was, and is tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented, againſt the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, and againſt the Form of the Statute in that Caſe made and provided.*

Endorſed by the Grand-Jury.

Witneſſes. *Billa Vera.*

Mary Wolcott,
Sarah Vibber,
Mercy Lewis,
Anne Putnam,
Elizabeth Hubbard.

THERE was alſo a Second Indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard.*

A Third Indictment for afflicting *Mercy Lewis.*

AND a Fourth for afflicting *Anne Putnam.*

THE Witneſſes the ſame as above, only *Mary Warren* was added to the laſt.

THE Judges at this and the other Trials were Lieutenant Governour *Stoughton*, Major *Saltonſtall*, Major *Richards*, Major *Gidny*, Mr. *Wait Winthrop*, Capt. *Sewall*, and Mr. *Serjeant*, or a *Quorum* of them.

Mr. *Burroughs* was brought upon his Trial *Auguſt* 5, 1692, and to ſupport the Charge there appeared the five or ſix diſtempered Perſons mention'd in the Indictment, and about eight *Confeſſing Witches*, who ſwore, that he was a Head-Actor at ſome of their Helliſh Rendezvous, and had the Promiſe of being a King in Satan's Kingdom now going to be erected. He was accuſed by nine Perſons, for Feats of extraordinary Strength, which could not be done without a Diabolical Aſſiſtance.

HE

THE *Bewitched Perſons* unanimouſly charg'd the Spectre of the Priſoner to have a Share in their Torments; one of them ſaid, that in her Agonies a little black-hair'd Man came to her ſaying, his Name was *B*——, and bid her ſet her Hand to a Book which he ſhewed her, bragging, that he was a Conjurer above the ordinary Rank of Witches; that he often perſecuted her with the Offer of that Book, ſaying, ſhe ſhould be well, and fear no-body, if ſhe would but ſign it, and that he inflicted cruel Pains and Hurts upon her, becauſe of her denying ſo to do. Anno 1692.

OTHERS of them teſtify'd, that in their Torments the Priſoner tempted them to go to a Sacrament, to which they perceived him with the Sound of a Trumpet ſummoning other Witches, who quickly after the Sound came from all Quarters to the Rendezvous; one of them falling into a kind of Trance, afterwards affirm'd, that the Priſoner had carried her unto the Top of a very high Mountain, where he ſhew'd her Mighty and Glorious Kingdoms, and ſaid, he would give them all to her, if ſhe would write in his Book, but ſhe refuſed.

SEVERAL of the *Bewitched* declared, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who ſaid, they had been the Priſoner's Wives, and that he had been the Death of them, and that the Magiſtrates muſt be told of it, and if he denied it upon his Trial they did not know but they ſhould appear in Court. Now while he was upon his Trial one of the *bewitched Perſons* was caſt into an Horror at the Ghoſts of the Priſoner's two Wives then appearing before him, and crying for Vengeance againſt him; hereupon ſeveral of the *bewitched* were ſucceſſively called in, who all not knowing what the former had ſeen and ſaid, concurred in

Anno 1692 the Horror of the Apparition, which they affirmed the Priſoner had before his Eyes; but he utterly denied that he diſcerned any Thing of it.

IT coſt the Court a great deal of Trouble to hear the Teſtimonies of the *Afflicted*, for when they were going to give in their Evidence they would be taken with Fits which hinder'd their ſpeaking a conſiderable Time; the Chief Judge asked the Priſoner, Who he thought hindred theſe Witneſſes from giving in their Teſtimonies? And he anſwer'd, he ſuppoſed it was the Devil. The Judge replied, How comes the Devil ſo loth to have any Teſtimony born againſt you? Which caſt him into a very great Confuſion.

THE *Confeſſing-Witches* teſtified, that the Priſoner had been at Witch-Meetings with them, and had ſeduced and compelled them to the Snares of Witchcraft, that he promiſed them fine Cloaths for doing it, that he brought Poppets to them, and Thorns to ſtick into thoſe Poppets for the afflicting other People, and that he exhorted them to bewitch all *Salem*-Village, but to do it gradually.

BUT beſides the Teſtimonies of the *Afflicted*, ſeveral Perſons of Credit and Honour appeared in Court, and witneſſed, that tho' the Priſoner was but a puny Man, yet he had done Things beyond the Strength of a Giant; that he made nothing of taking up a Gun of about ſeven Foot Barrel behind the Lock with one Hand, and holding it out at Arms-end. The Priſoner in his Vindication ſaid, that there was an *Indian* in the Company that did the ſame Thing, but the Court ſuppoſed the *Black Man* might be the Perſon that gave him that Aſſiſtance. There were two Witneſſes that ſwore, that with only putting the Fore-Finger of his Right-Hand into the Muzzel of a Fowling-Piece of about ſix or ſeven Foot Barrel, he lifted it up, and held it out

out at Arms-end. Another teſtified, that he made nothing of taking up whole Barrels filled with Melaſſes or Cyder, in very diſadvantageous Poſtures, and carrying them through the difficulteſt Places out of a Canoe to the Shore. *Anno* 1692

OTHERS teſtified, that he had been a cruel Husband to his Wives, that he uſed all Means to make them write, ſign, ſeal, and ſwear a Covenant never to reveal any of his Secrets; and that his Wives had often complain'd to their Neighbourhood, of their Houſe being troubled with evil Spirits.

MR. *Ruck* Brother-in-Law to the Priſoner teſtify'd, that Mr. *Burroughs* and his Wife going out with him two or three Miles to gather Strawberries; he with *Burroughs*'s Wife rid home ſoftly to keep Company with the Priſoner who was on Foot; but the Priſoner ſtepp'd aſide a little into the Buſhes, whereupon they halted, and hallowed for him, but he not making them any Anſwer they went homewards with a quickned Pace, not expecting to ſee him in a conſiderable Time, but when they were near home, to their Aſtoniſhment they found him on Foot with them with a Basket of Strawberries; the Priſoner immediately chid his Wife for what ſhe had ſaid of him to her Brother on the Road, which when they wondred at, he ſaid, he knew their Thoughts, *Ruck* replied, that was more than the Devil himſelf knew, but the Priſoner anſwered, *My GOD makes known your Thoughts to me:* The Priſoner making no Reply to this worth conſidering, Dr. *Mather* ſays, the Court were of Opinion, *That he then ſtepp'd aſide only that by the Aſſiſtance of the Black Man he might put on his Inviſibility, and in that faſcinating Miſt gratify his own jealous Humour to hear what they ſaid of him.*

THE

Anno 1692 THE Priſoner, it ſeems, made but a weak Defence full of Contradictions and Falſhoods, reflecting on the Reputation of ſome of the Witneſſes; he alſo delivered in a Paper to the Jury, wherein he endeavoured to prove, *That there neither are, nor ever were Witches, that having made a Compact with the Devil can ſend a Devil to torment other People at a Diſtance*; but notwithſtanding this, or any Thing elſe he could ſay for himſelf, the Jury brought him in guilty; when Sentence of Death was paſs'd on him, he denyed again what the Witneſſes had all ſwore againſt him, but added, that he did not ſo much blame the Judges and Jury for condemning him, as the falſe Witneſſes that brought him to his Death.

BRIDGET BISHOP, alias *OLIVER*, Wife of *Edward Biſhop* of *Salem*, Sawyer, was tryed upon 5 ſeveral Indictments, *June* 2, 1692, for uſing certain deteſtable Arts called Witchcraft, in, upon, and againſt *Mercy Lewis*, *Abigail Williams*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Anne Putnam*; to all which ſhe pleaded, Not guilty.

THE Witneſſes produced to ſupport the Charge were, *Firſt*, the *Bewitched* Perſons themſelves, who teſtified, that the Shape of the Priſoner did oftentimes pinch them, choak them, bite, and afflict them, urging them to write their Name in a Book which the Spectre called *Ours*. That when the Priſoner was firſt examin'd, in Order to her Commitment, they (*viz.*) the *Afflicted* were ſtruck down into a Fit, and could not recover 'till ſhe came and touched them, and ſeveral of them fell into Fits while ſhe was now at the Bar.

Secondly, *Deliverance Hobbs*, who had confeſſed herſelf a Witch, teſtify'd, that the Priſoner tempted her to ſign the Book again, and to deny what ſhe had confeſſed, and that the Shape of the Priſoner whipp'd her with Iron Rods to force

force her to it, and that the Priſoner was at a General Meeting of Witches in a Field near *Salem*-Village, and there partook of the Sacrament with them. *Anno* 1692

Thirdly, *John Cook* teſtify'd, that about five or ſix Years ago he was aſſaulted with the Shape of the Priſoner in his Chamber, and ſo terrify'd, that an Apple that he had in his Hand flew ſtrangely from him into his Mother's Lap ſix or eight Foot Diſtance.

Fourthly, *Samuel Gray* teſtify'd, that about fourteen Years ago he waked one Night, and ſaw his Room full of Light, and a Woman between the Cradle and Bed-ſide, he got up but found the Doors faſt, and the Apparition vaniſh'd, however the Child in the Cradle was ſo frighted that it pined away, and in ſome Time dyed. He confeſſed he had never ſeen the Priſoner before, but was now ſatisfy'd that it was her Apparition.

Fifthly, *John Bly* and his Wife teſtify'd, that he bought a Sow of the Priſoner's Husband, but being to pay the Money to another, ſhe was ſo angry that ſhe quarrelled with *Bly*, and ſoon after the Sow was taken with ſtrange Fits, jumping, leaping, and knocking her Head againſt the Fence, which made the Witneſs conclude, that the Priſoner had bewitched it.

Sixthly, *Richard Coman* teſtify'd, that eight Years ago he was terrify'd with the Spectre of the Priſoner and others, who ſo oppreſs'd him in his Bed that he could not ſtir Hand nor Foot, but calling up ſome-body to come to his Aſſiſtance, as ſoon as the People of the Houſe ſpoke, the Spectre vaniſhed, and all was quiet.

Seventhly, *Samuel Shattock* teſtify'd, that in the Year 1680, the Priſoner often came to his Houſe on frivolous Errands; ſoon after which his Child was taken with ſtrange Fits, and at laſt loſt his Underſtanding, the Fits were manifeſtly Epileptick,

Anno 1692 tick, but the Witneſs verily believed it was bewitched by the Priſoner.

Eighthly, *John Louder* teſtify'd, that upon ſome little Controverſy with the Priſoner about her Fowls, going well to Bed, he awoke in the Night, and ſaw the Likeneſs of this Woman grievouſly oppreſſing him. Another Time he was troubled with a black Pig, but going to kick it, it vaniſhed. Another Time as he was ſitting in his Room, a black Hobgobling jumped into the Room, which ſpake to him theſe Words, *I underſtand you are troubled in Mind, be ruled by me, and you ſhall want nothing in this World.* But when he endeavoured to ſtrike it there was nothing; upon this he ran out of his Houſe, and ſaw the Priſoner in her Orchard, but had not Power to ſpeak to her, but concluded his Trouble was all owing to her.

Ninthly, *William Stacy* teſtify'd, that the Spectre of the Priſoner had play'd him ſeveral Pranks of the ſame Nature with the former; for Example, having receiv'd ſome Money of the Priſoner for Work, he had not gone above three Rods from her, but it was gone from him; ſome Time after, diſcourſing with the Priſoner about grinding her Griſt, he had not gone above ſix Rods from her with a ſmall Load in his Cart, but the Off-Wheel ſunk into a Hole on plain Ground, that the Deponent was forc'd to get Help for the Recovery of it, but ſtepping back to look for the Hole, there was none to be found. Another Time, as he was going home in a dark Night he was lifted up from the Ground, and thrown againſt a Stone-Wall, and after that, he was hoiſted up, and thrown down a Bank at the End of his Houſe.

Laſtly, *John* and *William Bly* teſtify'd, that being employed by the Priſoner to take down her Cellar-Wall, they found ſeveral Poppets made

made of Rags and Hogg's Briſtles with headleſs Pins in them, the Points being outwards. Beſides all this, a Jury of Women was empannelled to ſearch her, who found a preternatural *Teat* upon her Body, but upon a ſecond Search three or four Hours after, there was none to be found. *Anno* 1692.

UPON this Evidence, the Priſoner, notwithſtanding any thing ſhe could ſay in her own Defence, was convicted, and executed.

SUSANNA MARTIN indicted *June* 29, 1692, of the like Crimes of Witchcraft and Sorcery on the Bodies of *Mercy Lewis*, *Anne Putnam*, &c. to which ſhe pleaded, Not guilty. At her Commitment ſhe was asked by the Juſtice,

Magiſtrate. Pray what ails theſe People?

Martin. I don't know.

Magiſt. But what do you think ails them?

Martin. I don't deſire to ſpend my Judgment upon it.

Magiſt. Don't you think they are bewitched?

Martin. No. I don't think they are.

Magiſt. Tell us your Thoughts about them then?

Martin. No. My Thoughts are my own when they are in, but when they are out they are another's. Their Maſter ———

Magiſt. Their Maſter; who do you think is their Maſter?

Martin. If they deal in the Black Art, you may know as well as I.

Magiſt. Well, what have you done towards this?

Martin. Nothing at all.

Magiſt. Why, 'tis your Appearance?

Martin. I can't help it.

Magiſt. Is it not your Maſter? How comes your Appearance to hurt them?

Martin.

Anno 1692 *Martin.* How do I know? He that appeared in the Shape of *Samuel*, may appear in any one's Shape.

BUT the *Afflicted* falling into their Fits when ſhe did but look upon them, ſhe was asked the Reaſon of it, and anſwered, *ſhe could not tell, it may be the Devil bore her more Malice than another.* So ſhe was committed, and being brought to her Trial, the following Witneſſes appeared to ſupport the Charge of Witchcraft againſt her, beſides the Accuſations of the *Afflicted.*

John Allen of *Salisbury* teſtified, That he refuſing to cart ſome Staves at the Requeſt of the Priſoner, becauſe of the Weakneſs of his Oxen, ſhe was angry, and told him it had been as good he had, for his Oxen ſhould not do him much more Service: He replied, *Do you threaten me, you old Witch? I will throw you into the Brook.* Upon which ſhe run away; but his Oxen ſoon after run wild, and being purſued, ran into the Sea, and were all drowned except one, near the Mouth of *Merrimack* River.

Bernard Peache teſtified, That as he lay in his Bed one Night the Priſoner jumped in at Window, took hold of his Feet, and drawing his Body into a Heap, lay upon him for two Hours, ſo that he could neither ſpeak nor ſtir; but at laſt he caught hold of her Hands, and bit three of her Fingers to the Bone, whereupon ſhe went down Stairs, and out of Doors; but the People of the Houſe ſaw nothing, only there was a couple of Footſteps on the Outſide of the Door.

John Kembal teſtified, That upon a ſmall Diſguſt, the Priſoner had told him his Cow ſhould not do him any more Good, and it died next Morning: And another Time refuſing to buy one of the Priſoner's *Puppeys*, he was ſoon after frighted with a black Dog as he was coming out of

of the Woods, which flew upon him, and as he thought would have tore out his Throat, but naming the Name of *Chriſt* it vaniſhed away; which he judged to be a Piece of the Priſoner's *Black Art* to revenge herſelf on him for not buying her Puppy. *Anno* 1692.

Sarah Atkinſon teſtify'd, that the Priſoner came from *Amesbury* on Foot to her Houſe at *Newbury* in an extraordinary Seaſon, when it was not fit for any one to travel, and yet the Soles of her Shoes were hardly wet, *Atkinſon* was amazed, and ſaid, ſhe ſhould have been wet up to the Knees, if ſhe had come ſo far, but the Priſoner replied, ſhe ſcorned to be drabled. Dr. *Mather* ſays, it was obſerved this Evidence put her into ſingular Confuſion.

John Preſſy teſtify'd, that being one Night bewildered near a Field of the Priſoner's, he ſaw a marvellous Light about the Bigneſs of a half Buſhel about two Roods out of the Way. He ſtruck at it with all his Might, and felt it a palpable Subſtance, but going from it his Heels flew up, and he thought he had been falling into a Pit, but afterwards upon Search there was really no Pit in the Place, having after his Recovery gone five or ſix Roods further he ſaw the Priſoner on his Left-Hand, but exchanged no Words with her: He was ſo frighted with all this, that he could ſcarce find his Way home, but he heard next Day that the Priſoner was ſadly hurt. He ſaid further, that having given in ſome Evidence againſt the Priſoner ſome Years ago, ſhe had told him, he would never proſper, nor never have above two Cows, which accordingly came to paſs, for he never could get more in twenty Years.

THE chief Defence the Priſoner made for herſelf was, that ſhe knew nothing of all theſe Things, but had led a virtuous and holy Life;

Dr.

Anno 1692 Dr. *Mather* ſays, ſhe was one of the moſt impudent, ſcurrilous, and wicked Creatures in the World; which Mr. *Calef* denies, * The Jury however brought her in Guilty.

I can't forbear making one Remark upon theſe, as well as upon all the Trials that Dr. *Cotton Mather* has publiſhed to the World on this Occaſion; that when he has given us the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes againſt the Priſoners at large, he paſſes over their Defence in ſuch general Words as theſe, *They ſaid nothing worth conſidering; their Diſcourſe was full of Tergiverſations and Contradictions; they were confounded, and their Countenances fell*, &c. whereby his Reader is left in the dark, and rendred uncapable of judging of the Merits of the Cauſe; if the Defence of the Priſoners was ſo weak and confuſed as the Doctor repreſents, it had been for the Advantage of the Court to have expoſed it at large to the World; but if not, 'tis very hard that it ſhould be ſmother'd.

BUT upon ſuch Evidence as this, 28 Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, of which 19 were executed, and one (namely) *Giles Cory* was preſs'd to Death; the Names of them that were executed were, *Bridget Biſhop*, executed *June* the 10th. *Sarah Good*, and *Rebecca Nurſe* of *Salem* Village, *Suſannah Martin* of *Amesbury*, *Elizabeth How* of *Ipſwich*, *Sarah Wildes* of *Topſhields*, executed the 19th of *July*.

THE Reverend Mr. *George Burroughs*, *John Proctor*, *John Willard* of *Salem* Village, *George Jacobs* Sen. of *Salem*, *Martha Carryer* of *Andover*, executed the 19th of *Auguſt*.

Martha Cory, *Mary Eaſty*, *Alice Parker*, *Anne Pudeater*, *Margaret Scott*, *Wilmet Redd*, *Samuel Wardwell*, and *Mary Parker*, executed the 22d of *September*.

* Calef, *p.* 139.

THEIR

THEIR Characters, and dying Behaviour was as follows. *Anno* 1692

Bridget Biſhop, alias *Oliver*, had long undergone the Repute of a Witch, occaſion'd by the Accuſations of one *Samuel Gray*, who about 20 Years before had charged her with ſuch Crimes; but tho' *Gray* upon his Death-Bed teſtify'd his Sorrow and Repentance for ſuch Accuſations as being wholly groundleſs, yet the Report never wore off, and being now accuſed afreſh, and upon Search, a Teat, being found upon her, as ſome ſay, tho' others it ſeems a few Hours after could ſee nothing of it; ſhe received Sentence of Death, but went out of the World without the leaſt Confeſſion of any thing relating to Witchcraft.

Sarah Good had been accounted a melancholy diſtemper'd Woman for a long Time. At her Execution Mr. *Noyes* urged her to confeſs, telling her ſhe was a Witch, and ſhe knew ſhe was ſo; to which ſhe replied, You are a Liar, I am no more a Witch than you are a Wizzard, and if you take away my Life, God will give you Blood to drink.

* *Rebecca Nurſe* vehemently aſſerted her Innocence both when ſhe was apprehended, and brought upon her Trial; and the Jury were ſo diſſatisfy'd with the Evidence produced againſt her, that they brought her in, *Not Guilty*; whereupon all the *Accuſers* in Court, and a little after all the *Afflicted* out of Court made a hideous Outcry to the Amazement of all the Spectators; the Court alſo was ſtrangely ſurprized; the Chief Judge ſaid, he would not impoſe upon the Jury, but intimated, as if they had

* Calef, &c. p. 102, 103.

Anno 1692 not well conſider'd one Expreſſion of the Priſoner's, namely, that when one *Hobbs* a confeſſing Witch was brought in as Evidence againſt her, ſhe turned her Head about, and ſaid, *What do you bring her, ſhe is one of us.* This, together with the Clamours of the *Accuſed*, induced the Jury to go out again; but not agreeing upon their Verdict, they came into Court, and deſired the Priſoner at the Bar to explain that Expreſſion; but the poor old Woman being hard of hearing, and in a very great Fright, ſaid nothing; upon which they immediately brought her in Guilty. But when ſhe was inform'd what Uſe was made of her Silence, ſhe put in the following Declaration into Court.

THESE Preſents do humbly ſhew to the Honoured Court and Jury, that I being informed, that the Jury brought me in Guilty, *upon my ſaying, that Good-Wife* Hobbs *and her Daughter were of our Company; but I intended no otherwiſe, than as they were Priſoners with us, and therefore did then, and yet do judge them not legal Evidence againſt their Fellow-Priſoners; and I being ſomething hard of hearing, and full of Grief, none informing me how the Court took up my Words, and therefore had not an Opportunity to declare what I intended when I ſaid they were of our Company.*

Rebecka Nurſe.

BUT it was now too late, the Governour indeed was ſo moved with her Caſe, that he granted her a Reprieve, but ſuch were the diſmal Clamours of the *Accuſers*, that he was forced to recall it; ſo ſhe was firſt execommunicated, and then executed with the reſt. She was a pious Woman, a Member of the Church of *Salem*, and had innumerable Teſtimonials of

her Chriſtian Behaviour thro' the whole Courſe of her Life under the Hands of moſt credible Perſons; her Behaviour in her Family was very exemplary, her Care in the Education of her Children, and ſetting them good Examples very extraordinary, and at her Execution ſhe behav'd herſelf with all the Gravity and Seriouſneſs of a Chriſtian. *Anno* 1692

IT was at her Trial that one of the Accuſers cried out publickly of the Reverend Mr. *Willard*, Miniſter in *Boſton*, as afflicting her, but ſhe was ſent out of Court, and it was told about, that ſhe was miſtaken in the Perſon.

THE Reverend Mr. *Burroughs* had been formerly Miniſter at *Salem*, but ſome Differences ariſing between him and his People, he left them and retired to *Falmouth*, which perhaps might be one Reaſon of his being fix'd upon by theſe *Salemites* for a Wizzard; Dr. *Mather* ſays he was a puny Man, but Mr. *Caleſ* * ſays, that his Contemporaries at School during his Minority could have teſtified, that his Strength was then as much ſuperior to theirs, as ever it was diſcovered to be ſince. Upon the Day of Execution, he was carried with the others in a Cart thro' the Streets of *Salem* to the Gallows; when he was on the Ladder † he made a Speech for the clearing of his Innocency, with ſuch ſolemn and ſerious Expreſſions as were to the Admiration of all preſent; his Prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer) was ſo well expreſs'd, and utter'd with ſuch Compoſure and Fervency of Spirit, as drew Tears from the Spectators, inſomuch that ſome were afraid they would hinder the Execution; but the Ac-

* Caleſ *in the* Pref. † *Ibid.* p. 103, 104.

Anno 1692 cuſers ſaid, the *Black Man* ſtood by and dictated to him; when he was cut down, he was dragged by the Halter to a Hole or Grave between the Rocks, about two Foot deep, his Shirt and Breeches being pulled off, and an old Pair of Trouſers put on in their Room; he was tumbl'd in with *Willard* and *Carryer*, one of his Hands and his Chin, and a Foot of another of them being left uncovered.

WHEN *John Procter* and his Wife were carried to Priſon, the Sheriff ſeized all their Houſhold-Goods, * Proviſions, and Cattle, which he ſold, and put the Money in his Pocket; he threw away the Beer out of a Barrel, and carried away the Barrel, emptied a Pot of Broth, and took away the Pot, and left nothing in the Houſe for the Support of the Children. *Procter* begg'd hard for a Reprieve, as appears by the moving Letter he writ to the Miniſters of *Boſton*, which the Reader will ſee by and by, but it was not granted. At his Execution, he earneſtly requeſted Mr. *Noyes* to pray with, and for him, but it was denied, becauſe he would not confeſs himſelf a Witch. His Wife was condemn'd with him, but eſcaped by pleading her Belly.

John Willard had been employed as a Meſſenger † to fetch in, ſeveral that were accuſed, but being unwilling at laſt to apprehend ſome that he had better Thoughts of, he declined the Service, and preſently after, was himſelf accuſed of the ſame Crime, and that with ſuch Vehemency, that they ſent after him as far as *Naſhawag* 40 Miles from *Salem*, where they overtook him as he was making his Eſcape out of the Country, 'tis ſaid, the *Accuſers* told the exact Time when

* *Ibid.* p. 104, 105. † *Ibid.* p. 104.

he

he was apprehended, ſaying, *Now* Willard *is taken*; he was convicted by the Spectral Evidence, and executed with Mr. *Burroughs* and the reſt. *Anno* 1692

George Jacobs, Sen. being condemned, the Sheriff's Officers * came and ſeized all he had, even to his Wife's Wedding-Ring; Hard was the Caſe of this Old Man! who was convicted by the Evidence of his own Grand-Daughter, who to ſave her own Life, confeſſed herſelf a Witch, and was forced to appear againſt her own Grand-Father, and Mr. *Burroughs*; the Day before their Executions ſhe came to Mr. *Burroughs*, and acknowledging her Guilt, begg'd his Pardon on her Knees, who not only forgave her, but alſo pray'd with, and for her. The Day after their Executions ſhe wrote the following Letter to her Father.

Honoured Father,

AFTER my humble Duty remembred to you, hoping in the Lord of your good Health, as bleſſed be GOD I enjoy, tho' in abundance of Affliction, being cloſe confined here in a loathſome Dungeon, the Lord look down in Mercy upon me, not knowing how ſoon I ſhall be put to Death, by Means of the Afflicted Perſons; my Grand-Father having ſuffered already, and all his Eſtate ſeized for the King. The Reaſon of my Confinement is this, I having, thro' the Magiſtrates Threatnings, and my own vile and wretched Heart confeſſed ſeveral Things contrary to my Conſcience and Knowledge, tho' to the wounding of my own Soul, the Lord pardon me for it; but, oh! the Terrors of a wounded Conſcience who can bear! but bleſſed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my Sins,

* Caleſ, *p.* 105.

Anno 1692 *but in Mercy, I hope, to my Soul, would not ſuffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confeſs the Truth of all before the Magiſtrates, who would not believe me, but 'tis their Pleaſure to put me here, and God knows how ſoon I ſhall be put to Death. Dear Father, let me beg your Prayers to the Lord on my Behalf, and ſend us a joyful and happy Meeting in Heaven. My Mother, poor Woman, is very crazy, and remembers her kind Love to you, and to Uncle,* viz. D—— A——, *ſo leaving you to the Protection of the Lord, I reſt your dutiful Daughter,*

From the Dungeon in Salem-*Priſon,* Aug. 20, 1692. Margaret Jacobs.

THIS poor young Woman had certainly been hanged, as *Wardwell* was, for her Recantation, if an Impoſthume had not broke in her Head at the Time appointed for her Trial, by which ſhe eſcaped. Her Father was likewiſe accuſed, but fled; * her Mother, a crazy, ſickly Woman, was likewiſe accuſed, and impriſoned; ſhe had four ſmall Children with her in the Houſe, when the Officer came, and perſwaded her to go with him, telling her, ſhe ſhould ſpeedily return; when ſhe came into the Preſence of the *Afflicted*, they ſaid, they did not know her, but at length one of them ſaying, Don't you know *Jacobs* the old Witch? they all fell down into their Fits, and accuſed her; ſhe was then ſent to Priſon, and lay there 10 Months; and the Neighbours in the mean Time kept the Children from ſtarving.

AT the Tryal of *Martha Carrier*, ſeveral of her own Children frankly confeſſed themſelves

* *Ibid*, p. 109.

Witches,

Witches, and that their Mother had made them ſo; they gave an Account of ſeveral Journeys, Meetings, and Miſchiefs by them performed; Dr. *Mather* adds this Memorandum concerning her. "This Rampant Hag *Martha Carryer* was the "Perſon of whom the Confeſſions of the Witches "and of her own Children among the reſt, agreed, "that the Devil had promiſed her, ſhe ſhould be "Queen of Hell." But tho' the Children's Evidence was very credible, the Court did not make Uſe of it for her Conviction. *Anno* 1692.

WHEN the laſt eight Priſoners were going to Execution the Cart was ſet, as it was going up the Hill; upon which the *Afflicted*, and others ſaid, the Devil hindred it; but the Priſoners all dyed with ſtrong Proteſtations of their Innocence.

Samuel Wardwell * had been prevail'd with to confeſs himſelf a Wizzard, to ſave his Life, but his Conſcience not ſuffering him to do the Drudgery of taking away the Lives of his innocent Neighbours, he reſolved to renounce his former Confeſſion before the Magiſtrate; whereupon he was ſoon brought to his Trial: And his former Confeſſion, with the *Spectre-Evidence* being produced againſt him, he was preſently condemned. At Execution, while he was ſpeaking to the People, proteſting his Innocence; the Smoke of the Executioner's Tobacco came into his Face, and interrupted his Diſcourſe a little; the Accuſers ſaid, *The Devil hindred him with Smoke.*

† *Mary Eaſty*, Siſter of *Rebecca Nurſe*, being ſenſible of the blind Fury of the People, and of the innocent Blood the Magiſtrates were bring-

* *Ibid.* p. 106. † *Ibid.* p. 107.

Anno 1692 ing on themſelves, preſented the following Petition.

To the Honourable Judge and Bench now ſitting in Judicature in *Salem*, and the Reverend Miniſters, the Petition of *Mary Eaſty* humbly ſheweth,

THAT whereas your humble poor Petitioner being condemned to dye, doth humbly beg of you to take it into your judicious and pious Conſideration, that your humble and poor Petitioner knowing her own Innoceince, and ſeeing plainly the Wiles and Subtilty of my Accuſers by myſelf, cannot but judge charitably of others that are going the ſame Way with myſelf; I was confined a whole Month on the ſame Account that I am now condemned for, and then cleared by the afflicted Perſons, as ſome of your Honours *know, and in two Days Time I was cried out upon again, and have been confined, and am now condemned to dye; the Lord above knew my Innocence then, and likewiſe does now, as at the great Day will be known to Men and Angels. I petition your Honours not for my own Life, for I know I muſt dye, and my appointed Time is ſet; but (the Lord he knows it is) if it be poſſible that no more innocent Blood may be ſhed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the Way and Courſe you go in. I queſtion not but your Honours do to the utmoſt of your Powers in the Diſcovery and Detection of Witchcraft and Witches, and would not be guilty of innocent Blood for the World; but by my own Innocency I know you are in the wrong Way, the Lord in his infinite Mercy direct you in this great Work, if it be his bleſſed Will, that innocent Blood be not ſhed; I would humbly beg of you, that your Honours would be pleaſed to examine ſome of thoſe Confeſſing Witches,*

I

I being confident there are ſeveral of them have belied themſelves and others, as will appear, if not in this World, I am ſure in the World to come, where I am going; and I queſtion not but yourſelves will ſee an Alteration in theſe Things: They ſay, my ſelf and others have made a League with the Devil; we cannot confeſs; I know, and the Lord knows (as will ſhortly appear) they belye me, and ſo I queſtion not but they do others: The Lord alone who is the Searcher of all Hearts, knows that as I ſhall anſwer it at the Tribunal-Seat, that I know not the leaſt thing of Witchcraft, therefore I cannot, I durſt not belye my own Soul. I beg your Honours not to deny this my humble Petition from a poor dying innocent Perſon, and I queſtion not but the Lord will give a Bleſſing to your Endeavours.

Anno 1692

Mary Eaſty.

WHEN ſhe took her laſt Farewell of her Husband, Children, and Friends, ſhe was ſo ſerious and affecting, as drew Tears from the Eyes of almoſt all preſent,

* *Martha Cory* Wife of *Giles Cory* was apprehended, and examined at the Meeting-Houſe in *Salem*, *March* 21, before a Croud of Spectators; when Mr. *Noyes* one of the Miniſters of the Town had been at Prayer, ſhe deſired that ſhe likewiſe might go to Prayer, but was denied. Mr. *Paris*'s Daughter, and two other Children, with about half a Dozen more were preſent, and accuſed her of afflicting them by biting, pinching, ſtrangling, &c. They ſaid, they ſaw her Likeneſs in their Fits coming towards them, and

* *Ibid.* p. 91, 106.

bring

Anno 1692 bringing them a Book to ſign. Mr. *Hathorn* the Magiſtrate asked her, Why ſhe afflicted thoſe Children? She replied, ſhe did not. He asked her, Who did then? She anſwered, She did not know, but thought they were poor diſtracted Creatures, and no Heed was to be given to what they ſaid; Mr. *Hathorn* and *Noyes* replied, it was the Judgment of all preſent, that they were bewitched. The *Afflicted* ſaid, that the *Black Man* whiſper'd her in her Ear, and that ſhe had a yellow Bird that uſed to ſuck between her Fingers, and was now there; Orders being given to ſee if there was any Sign, the Girl ſaid, *It was now too late, for ſhe had removed a Pin, and put it on her Head*; and upon Search there was found a Pin ſticking upright there. When Mrs. *Cory* had any Motion of her Body, the *Afflicted* would cry out; when ſhe bit her Lip, they would cry out, of being bitten; if ſhe graſped one Hand with the other, they would cry out, of being pinched; ſo ſhe was committed to Priſon, and condemned, on the Spectral Evidence. When ſhe came to dye, ſhe concluded her Life with an excellent Prayer on the Ladder, proteſting her Innocence to the very laſt.

HER Husband Mr. *Giles Cory* * was apprehended, and committed upon the ſame Evidence; When he came to the Bar, he pleaded, *Not guilty* to his Indictment, but refuſed to be tried by a Jury, that had cleared none that had been brought before them. He was a bold ſtout Man, and knowing there would be the ſame Witneſſes againſt him, as had been againſt the reſt, he reſolved to undergo any Kind of Death, rather than ſubmit to their Verdict; ſo they ordered him to be preſs'd to Death, agreeably to

* *Ibid.* p. 106.

the

the Cuſtom of *England* in ſuch Caſes, which was accordingly executed. He was the firſt in *New-England* that ever ſuffered this Kind of Death. *Anno* 1692

ALL the reſt of the Criminals that ſuffered Death on this Occaſion went out of the World without the leaſt Acknowledgment of their Guilt, laying their Blood at the Door of falſe Witneſſes. But by theſe Examples, the Reader ſees that neither Integrity of Manners, nor the ſtrongeſt Proteſtations of Innocence with their dying Breath were ſufficient to move Compaſſion, nor ſtop the Tide of the People's Zeal againſt theſe unhappy Perſons at this Time.

THE Names of thoſe that were condemned, but were firſt reprieved, and then pardoned were, *Abigail Falkner* of *Andover*, who pleaded Pregnancy, *Dorcas Hoar* of *Beverly*, *Mary Bradberry* of *Salisbury*, *Rebecca Eames* of *Boxford*, *Mary Lacy*, *Anne Foſter* of *Andover*, *Abigail Hobbs* of *Topſhield*, and *Elizabeth Procter*, who likewiſe pleaded her Belly.

BUT theſe were far from being all that were in Danger of loſing their Lives for *Witchcraft* at this Time; there being 150 now in Priſon, and above 200 more under Accuſation by the *Afflicted*: Indeed the whole Country was in Confuſion, every one being jealous of his Neighbour.

Several of the **Accuſed* made their Eſcape out of the Country, who had otherwiſe been truſs'd up with their Neighbours, as

Mrs. *Mary Cary* of *Charles-Town*, who was committed to *Cambridge*-Priſon, and laid in Irons; her Husband going to the Trials at *Salem*, and obſerving, that the Spectral Evidence was received, together with idle and malicious Stories

* *Ibid.* p. 95.

againſt

Anno 1692 againſt Peoples Lives came home, and contriv'd his Wife's Eſcape, they fled firſt to *Rhode-Iſland*, and from thence to *New-York*, where they ſtaid 'till the Storm was over.

Mr. *Edward Biſhop* and his Wife; whoſe Goods and Chattels were immediately ſeized by the Sheriff, and afterwards redeemed for 10 *l.*

* Mr. *Philip Engliſh* and his Wife; whoſe Eſtate Mr. *Corwin* the Sheriff ſeized to the Value of 1500 *l.* which was wholly loſt, except about 300 *l.* which was afterwards reſtored.

Mr *Dudley Bradſtreet*, a Juſtice of Peace in *Andover*, who having granted out Warrants againſt 30 or 40 for ſuppoſed Witchcraft, and ſeeing Cauſe at length to refuſe granting any more, was with his Wife accuſed of killing nine Perſons by Witchcraft, and forced to fly the Country.

Mr. *John Bradſtreet*, Brother to the Juſtice, who being accuſed of afflicting a poor Dog, and riding upon him thro' the Air to Witch-Meetings, was forc'd to fly for his Life into *Piſcataqua*-Government; but the Dog was put to Death.

Capt. *John Aldin*, a Man of good Reputation and Eſteem, who being examined at *Salem*, and committed to *Boſton* Goal, *May* 31, after 15 Weeks Impriſonment made his Eſcape; but the Captain having given the World an Account of his own Examination and Commitment, I ſhall tranſcribe it in his own Words. †

"JOHN ALDIN, *Sen.* of *Boſton*, in the County "of *Suffolk*, Mariner, on the 28th of *May* "1692, was ſent for by the Magiſtrates of *Sa*"*lem*, in the County of *Eſſex*, upon the Accuſa"tion of a Company of poor diſtracted, or poſ"ſeſſed Creatures, or Witches, and being ſent

* *Ibid.* p. 103. † *Ibid.* p. 98.

by

" by Mr. *Stoughton*, arrived there *May* 31, and Anno 1692
" appeared at *Salem*-Village before Mr. *Gidney*,
" Mr. *Hathorn*, and Mr. *Corwin*.

" THOSE Wenches being preſent who play'd
" their juggling Tricks, falling down, crying
" out, and ſtaring in People's Faces; the Ma-
" giſtrates demanded of them, Who it was of
" all the People in the Room that hurt them?
" one of theſe Accuſers pointed ſeveral Times
" at Capt. *Hill* there preſent, but ſpake nothing;
" the ſame *Accuſer* had a Man ſtanding at her
" Back to hold her up; he ſtoop'd down to her
" Ear, then ſhe cried out, *Aldin*, *Aldin* afflicted
" her; one of the Magiſtrates asked her, if ſhe
" had ever ſeen *Aldin*? She ſaid, *No*. He asked
" how ſhe knew it was *Aldin*? She ſaid, the
" Man told her ſo.

" THEN all were ordered to go down into
" the Street, where a Ring was made, and the
" ſame Accuſer cried out, *There ſtands* Aldin, *a*
" *bold Fellow, with his Hat on before the Judges*;
" *he ſells Powder and Shot to the* Indians *and*
" French, *and lies with the* Indian Squas, *and*
" *has* Indian Papooſes. Then was *Aldin* com-
" mitted to the Marſhal's Cuſtody, and had his
" Sword taken from him; for they ſaid, he
" afflicted them with his Sword. After ſome
" Hours *Aldin* was ſent for to the Meeting-
" Houſe in the Village before the Magiſtrates,
" who required *Aldin* to ſtand upon a Chair to
" the open View of all the People.

" THE Accuſers cried out, that *Aldin* did
" pinch them then, when he ſtood upon a Chair
" in the Sight of all the People, a good Way
" diſtant from them. One of the Magiſtrates
" bid the Marſhal to hold open *Aldin*'s Hands,
" that he might not pinch thoſe Creatures.
" *Aldin* asked them, why they ſhould think
" that he ſhould come to that Village to afflict
thoſe

Anno 1692 " thoſe Perſons that he never knew, or ſaw be-
" fore; Mr. *Gidney* bid *Aldin* confeſs, and give
" Glory to God; *Aldin* ſaid, he hoped he ſhould
" give Glory to God, and hoped he ſhould ne-
" ver gratify the Devil; but appealed to all that
" knew him, if they ever ſuſpected him to be
" ſuch a Perſon; and challenged any one that
" could bring in any thing upon their own
" Knowledge, that might give Suſpicion of his
" being ſuch an one. Mr. *Gidney* ſaid, he had
" known *Aldin* many Years, and had been at
" Sea with him, and always look'd upon him to
" be an honeſt Man, but now he did ſee Cauſe
" to alter his Judgment. *Aldin* anſwered, he
" was ſorry for that, but he hoped God would
" clear up his Innocency, that he would recall
" that Judgment again, and added, that he
" hoped he ſhould with *Job* maintain his Inte-
" grity 'till he dyed. They bid *Aldin* look upon
" the Accuſers, which he did, and then they fell
" down. *Aldin* asked Mr. *Gidney*, What Rea-
" ſon could be given, why *Aldin*'s looking upon
" *him* did not ſtrike *him* down as well, but no
" Reaſon was given, as I heard; but the Accu-
" ſers were brought to *Aldin* to touch them, and
" this Touch, they ſaid, made them well. *Al-*
" *din* began to ſpeak of the Providence of God,
" in ſuffering theſe Creatures to accuſe innocent
" Perſons. Mr. *Noyes* asked *Aldin*, Why he
" would offer to ſpeak of the Providence of God?
" God by his Providence (ſaid Mr. *Noyes*) go-
" verns the World, and keeps it in Peace; and
" ſo went on with Diſcourſe, and ſtopp'd *Al-*
" *din*'s Mouth as to that. *Aldin* told Mr. *Gid-*
" *ney*, that he could aſſure him, that there was
" a lying Spirit in them, for I can aſſure you
" there is not a Word of Truth in all they ſay
" of me. But *Aldin* was again committed to
" the Marſhal, and his *Mittimus* made to the
" Priſon of *Boſton*.

THE

THE Captain having made his Eſcape, as I obſerved before, returned again when the Storm was over, and ſurrendred himſelf to the Superior Court at *Boſton*, where he was cleared by Proclamation the laſt *Tueſday* in *April*, 1693, none of his former Accuſers appearing againſt him: But Examples of this Kind are without Number. There was a Gentleman of *Boſton*, who being accuſed by the *Afflicted* at *Andover*, ventured to ſtand his Ground, and ſent a Writ by ſome particular Friends to arreſt his Accuſers in 1000 *l.* Action for Defamation, with Inſtruction to inform themſelves of the Certainty of the Proof, which ſo frighted the poor Creatures, that from that Time the Accuſations at *Andover* generally ceaſed. *Anno* 1692.

THINGS were indeed come to a wretched Paſs, no Man being ſure of his Life or Fortune for an Hour; and no Wonder, conſidering the infamous Methods that were made Uſe of to bring People into the Snare; there was a Society of Gentlemen at *Salem*, like that for the Reformation of Manners in *London*, who engag'd to find out, and proſecute all ſuſpected Perſons, and many were impriſon'd by their Means; but the Proceedings of theſe Gentlemen were fair and honourable, in Compariſon to the Methods that were taken at *Andover* for the finding out of Witches, which if God in his Providence had not put a ſpeedy Stop to, muſt inevitably have diſſolv'd the Government itſelf; the Caſe was this; Mr. *Joſeph Ballard*'s Wife of *Andover* falling ſick of a malignant Fever, of which ſhe dyed. Her Husband fancied her bewitch'd, and ſent Horſe and Man 40 Miles to *Salem* to fetch ſome of theſe diſtemper'd Wretches that pretended to the Spectral Sight, to tell him who it was that afflicted her: When they came they fell into their Fits, and accuſed one Perſon, as ſitting on the Head

Anno 1692 Head, and another on the lower Parts of the Afflicted; no ſooner was the Scene open'd but the whole Town was alarmed, and more than 50 were complain'd of for afflicting their Neighbours in a few Weeks; here it was that many were made to accuſe themſelves of riding upon Poles through the Air to Witch-Meetings; many Parents believ'd their Children to be Witches, and Husbands their Wives.

FROM *Andover* * theſe *Accuſers* were ſent for to *Gloceſter*, and occaſioned four Women to be ſent to Priſon, but *Salem*-Priſon being ſo full that it could hold no more, they were ſent to *Ipſwich*. In *November* the *Accuſers* were ſent for again by Lieutenant *Stephens*, who was told, that a Siſter of his was bewitch'd; they told him, they ſaw three Perſons ſitting on his Siſter 'till ſhe dyed, but Bond was accepted for them, the Spectral Evidence beginning now to be called in Queſtion.

BUT before Things were come to this Extremity, the Governour had ſummon'd an Aſſembly of Miniſters to meet *June* 15, and give their Opinions concerning the Validity of the Spectral Evidence, ſeveral of whom, after due Conſideration, gave it as their Opinion, "That "the Apparitions of Perſons afflicting others "was no Proof of their being Witches, nor "was it inconſiſtent with the holy and righ-"teous Government of God to permit the De-"vil to aſſume the Shape of good Men, and that "a good Name obtain'd by a good Life ought "not to be forfeited by meer Spectral Accuſa-"tions; and that Alterations made in the Suf-"ferers by a Look, or a Touch of the Accuſed, "was no infallible Evidence of Guilt, but liable

Now for some very wise Opinions!

* *Ibid.* p. 110.

"to

" to be abuſed by the Devil's *Legerdemains*, but " at the ſame Time humbly recommended to " the Government, the ſpeedy and vigorous " Proſecution of ſuch as had rendred themſelves " obnoxious, according to the Directions given " in the Laws of God, and the wholeſome Sta- " tutes of the *Engliſh* Nation, for the Detection " of Witchcraft. Anno 1693

HAD the Opinion of theſe Miniſters been ſtrictly follow'd, all the above-mention'd Calamities had been prevented; for then the Jury muſt have acquitted all that were accuſed on the Spectral Evidence only, and the Spectral Evidence being diſcountenanced, would quickly have vaniſhed, and the People have return'd to their right Minds, as they did ſome Months after.

BUT Things went on in the old Channel, 'till the *afflicted* over-acted their Parts ſo far, as to accuſe ſome of the neareſt Relations of Dr. *Increaſe Mather*, and of the Governour himſelf; it was Time then to make a Stand: Accordingly we find, the very next Seſſions, which was *January* 3, 1692-3, when 56 Bills were preferr'd againſt Perſons for Witchcraft, the Grand Jury brought in 30 *Ignoramus*; and of the remaining 26, the Petty Jury convicted but three, whom the Governour pardon'd: Nay, the People's Eyes were ſo far open'd by this Time, that they would not convict People upon their own Confeſſions, for when *Mary Watts*'s Confeſſion was produced as Evidence againſt her, the Grand Jury would not accept it, but looking upon her as a diſtemper'd Perſon, brought in the Bill *Ignoramus*; and tho' the Court ſent them out a ſecond Time, they return'd again with the ſame Verdict.

AND indeed all the Confeſſions that were made, ſeem to me either the Effects of a di-

Anno 1693 ſtemper'd Brain, or extorted from Perſons to ſave their Lives; Dr. *Mather* has given us the Confeſſion of *W. B.* a Man of 40 Years of Age writ with his own Hand in Priſon, and ſent to the Magiſtrates of his own Accord to confirm his former Confeſſions: But whether the Act of a Man in Priſon, and under Apprehenſion of Death may be called free, I leave others to judge. However, I'll gratify the Reader's Curioſity with it, without being accountable either for the Senſe, or *Engliſh* of it.

GOD *having called* * *me to confeſs my Sin and Apoſtacy in that Fall, in giving the Devil Advantage over me, appearing like a* Black *in the Evening to ſet my Hand to his Book, as I have own'd to my Shame; he told me, that I ſhould not want, ſo doing. At* Salem-*Village there being a little off the Meeting-Houſe about an Hundred fine Blades, ſome with Rapiers by their Sides, which was called, (and might be for ought I know) by* B. *and* Bu. *and the Trumpet ſounded, and Bread and Wine, which they called the* Sacrament; *but I had none, being carried over all upon a Stick, never being at any other Meeting. I being at Court laſt* Saturday *all the Day, of Hay and* Engliſh *Corn, the Devil brought my Shape to* Salem, *and did afflict* M. S. *and* R. F. *by clitching my Hand. And on* Sabbath-Day, *my Shape afflicted* A. M. *and at Night afflicted* M. S. *and* A. M.: E. J. *and* A. F. *have been my Enticers to this great Abomination, as One has own'd, and charg'd her other Siſter with the ſame; and the Deſign was to deſtroy* Salem-*Village, and to begin at the Miniſter's Houſe, and to deſtroy the Churches of God, and to ſet up Satan's Kingdom,*

* C. Mather, *Book* vi. *p.* 81.

and

and then all will be well. And now, I hope, God has in ſome meaſure made me ſenſible of my Sin and Apoſtacy, begging Pardon of God, and of the honourable Magiſtrates, and all God's People; hoping and promiſing, by the Help of God, to ſet to my Heart and Hand to do what in me lyes to deſtroy ſuch wicked Worſhip, humbly begging the Prayers of God's People for me, that I may walk humbly under this Affliction, and that I may procure to myſelf the ſure Mercies of David. Anno 1693

BUT far the major Part, if not all the Confeſſions of the *Penitent Witches* (as they were called) were extorted from them, purely with the View of ſaving their Lives; hence it was, that the Husbands and Children of ſome upon their bended Knees have prevail'd with them to confeſs every thing that was laid to their Charge; Others have been wearied out with long and tedious Examinations before private Perſons for many Hours together, 'till they yielded to any thing; the Queſtion being then asked, Were you at ſuch a Witch-Meting? Or, have you ſign'd the Devil's Book? If they replied *Yes*, the whole was drawn out into the Form of a *Confeſſion*. That this was really the Caſe will appear by the following *Certificate*, ſign'd by the Hands of half a dozen honeſt Women, whoſe Conſciences would not ſuffer them to diſguiſe the Truth any longer. *

WE *whoſe Names are underwritten, Inhabitants of* Andover, *whereas that horrible and tremendous Judgment beginning at* Salem-*Village in the Year* 1692, *by ſome called Witchcraft, firſt breaking forth at Mr.* Paris's *Houſe; ſeveral*

* Calef's *More Wonders*, &c. *Part* V. *p.* 111, 112.

Anno 1693 *young Perſons being ſeemingly afflicted did accuſe ſeveral Perſons for afflicting them, and many there believing it to be ſo; we being informed, that if a Perſon were ſick, the Afflicted Perſons could tell what or who was the Cauſe of that Sickneſs;* Joſeph Ballard *of* Andover's *Wife being ſick at the ſame Time, he either from himſelf, or the Advice of others fetch'd two of the Perſons, called the* afflicted Perſons *from* Salem-*Village to* Andover, *which was the beginning of that dreadful Calamity that befell us in* Andover; *and the Authority in* Andover *believing the ſaid* Accuſations *to be true, ſent for the ſaid Perſons to come together to the* Meeting-Houſe *in* Andover (*the* afflicted Perſons *being there*); *after Mr.* Bernard *had been at Prayer, we were blind-folded, and our Hands were laid upon the* afflicted Perſons, *they being in their Fits, and falling into theſe Fits at our coming into their preſence, as they ſaid, ſome led us, and laid our Hands on them, and then they ſaid, they were well, and that we were guilty of* afflicting *them; whereupon we were all ſeized as Priſoners by a Warrant from the Juſtice of Peace, and forthwith carried to* Salem; *and by Reaſon of that ſudden Surprizal, we knowing ourſelves altogether innocent of that Crime, we were all exceedingly aſtoniſhed, and amazed, and conſternated, and affrighted out of our Reaſon, and our deareſt Relations ſeeing us in that dreadful Condition, and knowing our great Danger, apprehending, that there was no other Way to ſave our Lives, as the Caſe was then circumſtantiated, but by confeſſing ourſelves to be ſuch and ſuch Perſons, as the* afflicted *repreſented us to be; they out of tender Love and Pity perſwaded us to confeſs what we did confeſs; and indeed that Confeſſion that is ſaid we made, was no other than what was ſuggeſted to us by ſome Gentlemen, they telling us, that we were Witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it; which made us think that we were ſo, and our Underſtanding, and our Reaſon, and our Faculties being almoſt*

almoſt gone, we were not capable of judging of our Condition; as alſo the hard Meaſures they uſed with us, rendred us uncapable of making our Defence, but we ſaid any thing, and every thing they deſired, and moſt of what we ſaid was but in Effect a conſenting to what they ſaid. Some Time after, when we were better compoſed, they telling of us what we had confeſſed, we did profeſs, that we were innocent, and ignorant of ſuch things, and we hearing, that Samuel Wardwell *who had renounced his* Confeſſion, *was condemn'd, and executed, ſome of us were told, that we were going after* Wardwell. Anno 1693

Mary Oſgood,
Mary Tiler,
Deliverance Dane,
Abigail Baker,
Sarah Wilſon,
Hannah Tiler.

IF this *Confeſſion* had been made a little ſooner, while the *Spectral Evidence* was in Repute, it had coſt the *Confeſſors* their Lives; for 'tis impoſſible to expreſs the blind Fury and Zeal of the People againſt the Priſoners, who believed every thing the *Afflicted* ſaid, and disbelieved every thing the *Accuſed* offered in their own Vindication.

WHEN neither Promiſes nor Threatnings could bring Perſons to *Confeſſion*, they ſometimes made Uſe of Violence and Force, as appears by the moving Letter that Mr. *Procter* ſent to the Miniſters of *Boſton* a few Days before his Trial, which becauſe it gives a clear Account of this Matter, I will tranſcribe in his own Words.

Anno 1693

To the Reverend Mr. *Mather*, *Moody*, *Baily*, *Allen*, *Willard*.

Reverend Gentlemen,

THE *Innocence of our Caſe, with the Enmity of our* * *Accuſers, and our Judges and Jurors, whom nothing but our innocent Blood will ſerve their Turn, having condemned us already before our Trials, being ſo much incenſed, and enraged againſt us by the Devil, makes us bold to beg and implore your favourable Aſſiſtance of this our humble Petition to His Excellency, That if it be poſſible our innocent Blood may be ſpared, which undoubtedly otherwiſe will be ſhed, if the Lord does not mercifully ſtep in; the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, Juries, and all the People in general being ſo much incens'd, and enrag'd againſt us, by the Deluſion of the Devil, which we can term no other, by Reaſon we know in our own Conſciences we are all innocent Perſons; here are five Perſons, who have lately confeſs'd themſelves to be* Witches, *aud accuſe ſome of us of being along with them at a Sacrament, ſince we were committed to cloſe Priſon, which we know to be Lyes. Two of the five are* Carrier's *Sons, young Men, who would not confeſs any thing 'till they tied them Neck and Heels, 'till the Blood was ready to come out of their Noſes, and 'tis credibly believ'd and reported, that this was the Occaſion of making them confeſs that they never did; by Reaſon they ſaid, one had been a Witch a Month, another five Weeks, and that their Mother had made them ſo, who has been confin'd here theſe nine Weeks. My Son* William Procter, *becauſe he would not con-*

* Calef p. 104.

feſs

feſs, when he was examin'd, that he was guilty, they tyed him Neck and Heels 'till the Blood guſhed out of his Noſe, and would have kept him ſo 24 Hours, if one more merciful than the reſt had not taken Pity on him, and cauſed him to be unbound. Theſe Actions are very like the Popiſh *Cruelties; they have already undone us in our Eſtates, and that will not ſerve their Turns without our innocent Blood. If it can't be granted, that we may have our Tryals at* Boſton, *we humbly beg, that you would endeavour to have theſe Magiſtrates changed, and others put in their Room; begging alſo, and beſeeching, that you would pleaſe to be here ſome of you, if not all, at our Trials, hoping thereby you may be the Means of ſaving our innocent Bloods, deſiring your Prayers to the Lord on our Behalf, we reſt your poor afflicted Servants.*

Anno 1693

John Procter, *&c.*

BUT this Letter had no Effect, *Procter* and his Fellow-Priſoners being convicted and executed a little after. Such Methods as theſe being made Uſe of, 'tis no Wonder that the Number of *Confeſſing Witches* amounted to fifty, not one of whom were put to the Trial, whether they would abide by their Confeſſions when they came to dye; Unhappy Creatures! who were forc'd to do the Drudgery of taking away the Lives of their Neighbours, to ſave their own. But upon the *Afflicted*'s over-acting their Part, as I obſerv'd before, the Tide of the People's Affections began to turn, and they who a little before were in Danger of being torn in pieces by the Mob, were now univerſally lamented and pity'd. All further Proſecutions were now ſtopp'd, the *Accuſations* of the *Afflicted* were entirely diſregarded; the Priſon-Doors were ſet open to all that were under Confinement, by the *Accuſations* of the *Afflicted*, and Sir *William Phips* after ſome

Anno 1693 Time he pardoned all that were under Sentence of Condemnation.

BUT beſides the Blood that was ſpilt upon this Occaſion, ſeveral Perſons and Families were ruin'd in their Eſtates and Reputations, partly by long Impriſonment, and partly by the Avarice of the Officers who took Poſſeſſion of their Houſes in their Abſence; and though I am fully ſatisfied, that the Zeal of the Government in this Affair proceeded from their Regard to the Glory of God, yet I muſt ſay, that the Magiſtrates were too partial in their Behaviour towards the *Accuſed*, and that Sir *William Phips* himſelf treated them with too much Severity, by ordering them to be laid in Irons, and countenancing the popular Cry againſt them.

THE whole Country were by Degrees made ſenſible of their Miſtake, and moſt of the Actors in this Tragedy repented the Share they had in it. One of the Honourable Judges that ſate on the Bench at theſe Trials, on a Faſt-Day in a full Aſſembly at the *South* Meeting in *Boſton*, delivered in a Paper to be read to all the People; acknowledging his having fallen into ſome Errors in the Trials at *Salem*, and begging the Prayers of the Congregation, that the Guilt of ſuch Miſcarriages might not be imputed to the Country in general, or to him and his Family in particular. And while this Paper was reading, he ſtood up in the View of the whole *Aſſembly*.

THE Jury likewiſe publiſh'd a Paper ſign'd with their own Hands in the following Words. *

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* Calef, *p.* 144.

WE

Anno 1693

WE whoſe Names are underwritten, being in the Year 1692, *called to ſerve as Jurors in Court at* Salem, *on Trial of many who were by ſome ſuſpected of doing Acts of Witchcraft upon the Bodies of ſundry Perſons.*

WE confeſs, that we ourſelves were not capable to underſtand, nor able to withſtand the myſterious Deluſions of the Powers of Darkneſs, and Prince of the Air, but were, for Want of Knowledge in ourſelves, and better Information from others, prevail'd with to take up with ſuch Evidence againſt the Accuſed, *as on further Conſideration and further Information, we juſtly fear was inſufficient for the touching the Lives of any,* Deut. xvii. 6. *whereby we fear, we have been inſtrumental with others, though ignorantly and unwittingly, to bring upon ourſelves and this People of the Lord the Guilt of innocent Blood, which Sin the Lord ſaith in Scripture, he would not pardon,* 2 Kings xxiv. 4. *That is, We ſuppoſe in Regard of his temporal Judgments, we do therefore hereby ſignify to all in general, and to the ſurviving Sufferers in eſpecial, our deep Senſe of, and Sorrow for our Errors, in acting on ſuch Evidence to the condemning of any Perſon.*

AND do hereby acknowledge, that we juſtly fear that we were ſadly *deluded and miſtaken, for which we are much diſquieted and diſtreſſed in our Minds, and do therefore humbly beg Forgiveneſs firſt of God for Chriſt's Sake for this our Error, and pray, that God would not impute the Guilt of it to ourſelves, nor others; and we alſo pray, that we may be conſider'd candidly and aright by the living Sufferers, as being then under the Power of a ſtrong and general Deluſion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in Matters of that Nature.*

WE

Anno 1693 *WE do heartily ask Forgiveneſs of you all whom we have juſtly offended, and do declare according to our preſent Minds, we would none of us do ſuch things again for the whole World; praying you to accept of this, in Way of Satisfaction for our Offence, and that you would bleſs the Inheritance of the Lord, that he may be entreated for the Land.*

Thomas Fisk, *Foreman*,
William Fisk,
John Batcheler,
Thomas Fisk, *Jun.*
John Dane,
Joſeph Evelith,
Thomas Perly, *Sen.*
John Pebody,
Thomas Perkins,
Samuel Sayer,
Andrew Elliot,
Henry Herrick, *Sen.*

AND Dr. *C. Mather* who writ the forementioned Trials, has ſince declared it as his Opinion, that Things were carried too far; as appears to him, 1. From the great Number of Perſons accuſed. 2. From the Quality of the Perſons accuſed, ſome of whom were Perſons of blameleſs and holy Lives. 3. From the Number of the *Afflicted*, which encreas'd to about fifty. This (ſays he) gave juſt Ground to ſuſpect ſome Miſtake. 4. From the Execution of the Priſoners, not one of which confeſs'd their Guilt at their Death; though ſeveral of them were Perſons of good Knowledge, of ſober Lives, and dyed in a ſerious, affecting Manner. And as for the Confeſſors (ſays he) we had no Experience whether they would abide by their Confeſſions when they came to dye; they being all reprieved and pardoned. 5. Becauſe when the Proſecutions ceaſed, the *Afflicted* grew preſently well; the *Accuſed* are generally quiet, and we have had no Diſturbance ſince that Time for theſe fiye Years.

THE

THE *Doctor* adds further, that the Proceedings at *Salem* were owing to ſome miſtaken Principles, as that Satan cannot aſſume the Shape of an innocent Perſon, and in that Shape do Miſchief to the Bodies and Eſtates of Mankind; that when he does Miſchief to Perſons in their Bodies or Eſtates, it is moſt commonly by the Inſtrumentality of our Neighbour, ſome Witch in Covenant with the Devil; and that when the Party ſuſpected looks upon the Parties ſuppoſed to be bewitched, and they thereupon fall into a Fit, it is a Proof of ſuch a Covenant, *&c.* * *Anno* 1693

THUS in about fifteen Months Time ended an Affair, which not only confounded the Minds of the good People of *New-England*, but ſtruck all *Europe* with Surprize and Aſtoniſhment: Nay, the *Indians* themſelves improved it to the Diſadvantage of the *Proteſtant* Religion, for one of the *French-Indians* in Converſation with Captain *Hill* at *Saco*-Fort told him, that the *French* Miniſters were certainly better than the *Engliſh*; for before the *French* came among them, there were a great many Witches among the *Indians*, but now there were none; and there were many Witches among the *Engliſh* Miniſters, as *Burroughs*, who was hang'd for it.†

I have often wondred, that no publick Notice was ever taken either of the *Afflicted Perſons* or *Confeſſing Witches*; if the Agitations of the *Afflicted* were voluntary and artful, the Blood of the innocent certainly lay at their Door; but if not, they ſhould have been treated as Lunaticks, or as Perſons who being poſſeſs'd by an evil Spirit had been the unhappy Inſtruments of taking away the Lives of their honeſt Neighbours. The *Confeſſing Witches* may poſſibly deſerve a little

* Mather, *Book* VI. p. 82. † Caleſ, *p.* 25.

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Anno 1693 more Compaſſion, if their Confeſſions were extorted by Violence, or aroſe from the pure Neceſſity of ſaving their Lives this Way, and no other (as I believe was the Caſe of moſt of them); but yet their bearing falſe Witneſs againſt their Neighbours, and dipping their Hands in their innocent Blood, ought not to have been paſs'd over in Silence: If the Confeſſions of any were voluntary, and free from Reſtraint, as Dr. *Cotton Mather* ſays, *W*—— *B*——'s was, and many others; if they confirm'd them afterwards in cool Blood with very ſtrong Circumſtances, ſuch as, relating the Times when they covenanted with the Devil, and the Reaſons that moved them to it; their Mock-Sacraments, their ſigning the Devil's Book, and ſhewing the Place in their Bodies where they drew Blood to ſign it with, *&c.* They ought at leaſt to have been put to the Trial, whether they would have own'd their Confeſſions with their dying Breath; but Things were in ſuch Confuſion at this Time, that nothing of this Nature was attempted. There was a diſcontented Party in the State that clogg'd the Wheels of Sir *William Phips*'s Government, and at length got him recalled: But before Sir *William* went for *England*, being willing to make all Parties eaſy, he publiſh'd a General Pardon, for which (ſays my Author) he received the Thanks, not only of his Country, but of the Queen of *England* herſelf.

MR. *Paris* indeed, in whoſe Houſe this Tragedy began, and who had himſelf been a Witneſs, and a zealous Proſecutor of the *Accuſed*, felt the Effects of the People's Reſentment ſome Time after; for his People not only withdrew from his Communion, but preſented ſeveral Petitions and Remonſtrances to the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of *Boſton* to obtain his Removal; they declared, "That Mr. *Paris*'s believing the Devil's Accu-

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" ſations, and readily departing from all Charity " to Perſons of blameleſs Lives and Converſa- " tions upon ſuch Suggeſtions; his promoting " Accuſations, and his Partiality therein, ſtifling " ſome, and encouraging *others*; his going to " *Mary Walut*, and *Abigal Williams*, to know " who afflicted the People in their Illneſſes, and " his taking an Oath, that the Priſoners by " their Looks knock'd down the pretended Suf- " ferers, though 'tis certain he knew nothing of " the Matter", obliged them to refuſe him for their Miniſter; the Miniſters of *Boſton* did every thing they could to make up the Difference, and Mr. *Paris* himſelf in the Year 1694, made a publick Acknowledgment of his Error, begging Pardon both of God and Man; but the People inſiſting, that they neither could, nor would ſit under the Miniſtry of a Man, who had been an Inſtrument of the Miſery and Ruin of ſo many of their Relations and Friends, he was at laſt removed.

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* Calef, *p.* 57, 63

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